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with its white residents, they had no reason not to regard it as a friendly place. The *Comisaría* protected their labor rights, supervising terms of contract and entertaining their complaints of unfair treatment. When an Indian completed his term of labor he was "paid off" in the presence of an official in charge of Indian affairs. The Indians regarded the government as fair. The *Comisaría* provided medical aid to those Indians who came to seek it. At the same time it respected native life and interfered with the Indians as little as possible. Although the Cuduiarí is readily accessible from Mitú it was entered only rarely by administrative personnel. When I lived among the *Bahúkiwa* some 15 hours by canoe from Mitú, I had the sense of total isolation from this administrative center. The normal everyday life on the Cuduiarí was completely Indian. In the time of Wallace there had been bad blood between Indians and Colombians, but by the time Koch-Grünberg arrived relations between the Cubeo and the government had already become peaceable.

In Mitú I met Mandú, headman of the *Bahúkiwa* sib of the middle Cuduiarí. He had come to seek medical treatment for his young son, who had injured his knee in a fall. The headman and I became friends and he invited me to visit. When I promptly accepted his invitation I was surprised to find that he had already begun to build a house for me and that the Indians had expected me to settle among them. He had discussed the matter with his people, he told me later, and they had agreed that it would be good to have me live among them. The reasons for wanting me never became too clear, but I came to believe that they thought I would offer them some protection from the pressure of the labor recruiters.

I was informally "adopted" as the younger brother of Mandú. For a while people were amused to address me by an appropriate kinship term. In time this jest lost its freshness and I came to be regarded simply as *pakomá* (kinsman). Nevertheless, I was considered to be a member of Mandú's household even though I had a house of my own alongside the maloca. Mandú sent his older wife, with whom he was no longer living, to serve as my cook. With Mandú's household I had all the privileges of informality. My relations with other households were friendly but more restrained. Since I did not contribute an appropriate share of fish and game to the household, or to the maloca as a whole, I felt obliged to reciprocate food and services with periodic gifts of cloth, tobacco, fishhooks, and ammunition. At one time during a drinking party at which I was not present, a son of Mandú distributed all my trade goods to the guests "in my behalf." However, during the period of many weeks when I no longer had trade goods

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593 to his father for personal attention. On the whole, a child is at a greater disadvantage if it has lost a parent of its own sex, that is, a girl with a stepmother, a boy with a stepfather. A girl with a stepmother has a hard life of chores and of open neglect. A boy with a stepfather does not have a hard life at all in the material sense. He is deprived more subtly of intimacy with a paternal figure, and this usually shows itself in his own reserve with respect to his fellows. If he has no father at all the effect upon his personality is even more marked.

593 736 [597] My direct acquaintance with the situation of a true orphan is limited to the observation of one case among the *Bahúkiwa*. This was a girl from another tribe who had lost both parents and was adopted by the *Bahúkiwa* headman as his "daughter." The little girl, about nine, was addressed as "daughter" but held the status in the household of a servant. She took on the heaviest chores and was almost never free to play. Her lowly status was truly stigmatized by her lack of possessions. She was the only child among the Cubeo whom I had ever seen unadorned, until I gave her a necklace which she was allowed to keep. The children of the household enjoyed beating her as a way of teasing her, rather than wickedly. She took their pinchings and cuffings good-naturedly, on the whole, and had learned to pretend not to notice. Once, in the presence of the headman, her "father," the children were overdoing their teasing. She looked imploringly at the headman. Finally, she caught his eye and he said to her, "It is all right for you to run away." He saw no need to reprimand his own children.

[301] [123] [114] In reading Giacone (1949) on the Tucano tribe I found my observations on orphans corroborated. He, too, reported that orphans do not lack food but that they appear to be melancholy.

CEREMONIAL FRIENDSHIP

572 193 A parallel to the brother-sister relationship is the *hikũ-hiko* relationship, a ceremonial friendship. These terms, formed by combining the possessive prefix with the gender suffix, connote a relationship of exceptional closeness. The linguistic significance of possessive prefix and gender suffix for kinship terms has already been brought out. The curious feature of *hikũ* and *hiko* is that these terms are composed of the two intimate-indicating particles.[8] The ceremonial

[8] *Hi* is also the verb stem "to give," but if *hikũ* were translated as "giver"—a feasible rendering—it should be possible to say *hikũtũ*. But this form does not exist.

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Marriage

614 615 The rule in marriage is that a wife cannot be taken from within the sib or phratry. She may be taken from another tribe and, of course, from any of the other two phratries. There is no actual prohibition against marrying a woman from one's own community if she belongs to a group that is outside the phratry. As I have already noted, such marriages are not common because of a preference for marrying someone from a distance. Since true friendship is apt to mean brotherhood [626] for the Cubeo, and so is identified with exogamy, the parties to a coresidence marriage, the man in particular, are made to feel as though they were behaving indecently. The only case of a coresidence 614 marriage that I learned about was complicated somewhat by an issue • 597 of adoption, but it illustrates the ambiguity of feeling the Cubeo have about such marriages, nevertheless. A boy, born a *Bahúkiwa*, was orphaned and adopted by the *Hürüwá*, a sib of the opposite phratry. He then married a *Hürüwá* girl. Opinion was divided. The boy and his supporters claimed that he was *Bahúkiwa* and so the marriage was proper. The other side argued that since he was raised by the *Hürüwá* he had no business marrying a *Hürüwá* girl. Since the girl's family allowed the marriage to stand we must assume 582 that the boy's position was legally sound. Marriage is preferred between age equals, and since a groom must be forceful enough to make a good impression he will not marry until his very late teens and so 192 neither will the girl. The term for marriage is *nomikükü*, meaning simply "woman getting."